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~~TOP SECRET//T/SENSITIVE EYES ONLY~~

WT 32001

DELIVER AT OPENING OF BUSINESS

OCTOBER 14, 1973

TO: AMBASSADOR HELMS  
FROM: SECRETARY KISSINGER

IN RELATION TO THE INFORMATION WHICH YOU PASSED IN TEHRAN [REDACTED]  
YOU SHOULD INFORM THE SWAS OF THE FOLLOWING U.S. POLICY CONSIDERATIONS:  
IN RELATION TO THE CURRENT CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

(1) THE UNITED STATES IS ATTEMPTING TO CONDUCT ITSELF IN  
RESPECT TO THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO BE ABLE TO  
PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA,  
BOTH IN ENDING CURRENT HOSTILITIES AS WELL AS IN ACHIEVING A PERMANENT  
PEACE BASED ON JUSTICE.

(2) PURSUANT TO THIS APPROACH, THE UNITED STATES HAS CONTINUED  
TO ACT WITH GREAT RESTRAINT,  
VOICING NO CRITICISM OF ARAB ACTIONS AND,  
DESPITE A MASSIVE SOVIET AIRLIFT RESUPPLY EFFORT, REFRAINING FROM  
UNDERTAKING ANY RESUPPLY ACTION. HOWEVER, IN THE FACE OF THE HEAVY

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AND ACCELERATING SOVIET RESUPPLY EFFORT, WHICH HAS BEEN UNDER WAY NOW FOR FIVE DAYS, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW BEEN FORCED TO INITIATE RESUPPLY ACTIVITY OF ITS OWN, EMPHASIZING MOSTLY CONSUMABLE ITEMS.

(3) WITH RESPECT TO THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THERE IS ONE FACTOR WHICH MUST BE KEPT CONSTANTLY IN MIND. WE HOPE THAT THE SHAH WILL UNDERSTAND THAT AN ARAB VICTORY IN THE PRESENT CONFLICT, OBTAINED AS IT WOULD BE BY THE USE OF SOVIET ARMS, COUPLED WITH THE VICTORY OBTAINED BY SOVIET ARMS IN THE INDO-PAKISTAN CONFLICT OF 1971, WOULD MOST CERTAINLY LEAD TO A RADICALIZATION OF REGIMES IN THE AREA AND, AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT, GLOBALLY.

THE SHAH SHOULD KNOW THAT WE ARE TRYING OUR BEST TO BRING THE WAR TO A CONCLUSION, WITH ALL THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS FULLY IN MIND. WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT THE SHAH WILL NOT LET HIMSELF BE SWEEPED ALONG BY TACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF THE MOMENT TO THE PREJUDICE OF THE GREATER STRATEGIC GOALS WHICH BOTH OUR COUNTRIES ARE PURSUING JOINTLY. THE PRESIDENT IS, OF COURSE, GREATLY APPRECIATIVE OF THE COURAGE AND LEADERSHIP SHOWN BY THE SHAH IN REFUSING THE SOVIET REQUEST FOR MILITARY OVERFLIGHT OF IRAN.

WARM REGARDS

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